

Bukoshi's positive, forward-looking solutions as the United States and Europe consider how to proceed in the former Yugoslavia.

The text of the speech follows:

Ladies and gentlemen, it is an Honor for me to have been given the opportunity to address an important audience that is actively seeking to identify conflict situations and prevent them before they become unmanageable. In this context, let me congratulate you on the good task you have started, in the hope that the FORUM will have its impact in breathing a sense of reality into the asphyxiated, and crisis-ridden international fora.

Let me begin by quoting one of the greatest Albanian writers, Ismail Kadare, who has on one occasion stated: "The word 'Kosova' is spoken always with hesitation, in a low voice, almost in a whisper—the way ancient people spoke some words in a low voice when they talked of 'evil spirits'".

Although hesitantly, Kosova is always mentioned whenever there are evident signs of the escalation of the former Yugoslav crisis, and always in the context of a wider Balkan conflict. In the case of the last escalation in Bosnia involving UN hostages taken by Serbian forces, a clear act of international terrorism, western leaders have pointed out again the possibility of a wider Balkan war rightly stressing that such a war would firstly encompass Kosova, then Macedonia, in order to include Albania, Bulgaria, Greece and possibly Turkey.

Just 200 kilometers southeast of Sarajevo lies the Republic of Kosova, in danger of becoming another Bosnia, but even worse. The Balkans imbroglio suggests that Kosova may be next in the succession of victims in the face of Serbian ethnic cleansing and oppression.

Kosova with its 90-percent Albanian population is already a Serbian victim. Kosova lost its autonomy six years ago, when Serbia, unconstitutionally and by use of police and military forces, abolished the Parliament of Kosova, dismissed the government and its administration, and closed down television, radio and the daily Albanian-language newspaper. Systematic structural repression against the Albanians of Kosova, enacted martial law, has reached tragic proportions each passing year.

Serbian apartheid manifests itself in discrimination that started with rigged political trials before civil and military courts; isolation and confinement of hundreds of intellectuals, scientists and economic experts; massive prison sentencing of Albanians, killings of peaceful demonstrators; expulsion of hundreds of university professors, thousands of teachers and administrators; dismissal of physicians and medical staffs and the complete abrogation of all human, civil and national rights.

Our plight has been documented by Amnesty International, the United Nations Special Rapporteur, CSCE, and other human rights bodies and international organizations.

In the first quarter of 1995, more than 3,000 Albanians were subjected to all forms of mistreatment by the Serbs. Two were shot dead; seven wounded; 34 were convicted; 125 were subjected to arms searches and harassment; 1,157 were arrested; 985 tortured; 973 families subjected to weapons raids; 589 summoned for police interrogation; 204 suffered political persecution; 114 youth were punished for not joining the Serbian army; 8 were convicted by military courts; 9 Albanian families were evicted from their apartments. The above constitute only the most drastic forms of repression. It should also be noted that many cases are never reported.

Thus far, Kosova has reacted to this repression with peaceful resistance. We have

been firm, we have established a functioning government and economy, we have held together in solidarity with one another. We have demonstrated incredible patience, restraint, and judgment in the face of daily brutality, harassment and intimidation.

Numerous delegations have visited Kosova and have witnessed the appalling situation. They have visited the storefront clinics, spoken with patients, listening to the doctors. They have witnessed the classrooms in homes where thousands of Albanian students are doing their best to preserve their education, and they have reported on massive violations of human civil and national rights of the Albanians.

Also many delegations from Kosova, including the leadership of Kosova have repeatedly informed governments of western democratic countries and the general public about the ever deteriorating situation that can lead to a conflict with unpredictable consequences.

In parliaments around the world, legislators have spoken with resolutions of support. For illustration, let me mention that the European Parliament has condemned repression against the Albanian population in eight resolutions. At the same time Albanians have been praised for their peaceful restraint.

Yet, the situation has only kept worsening while repression continues.

The international community cannot continue to ignore the untenable situation in Kosova.

As much as we are determined to remain patient, no one can guarantee that the Albanians can sit idly by for decades, watching their personal and collective resources disappear while their families and friends are subjected to barbaric treatment by cruel and inhuman occupying forces.

To avert this calamity the European Union and the international community must become engaged in helping solve the Kosova part of the Balkans problem. We need their involvement in the following ways:

First: While talks on the future of Kosova remain an uncertain reality, it is necessary that preventive forces be deployed to Kosova. Since Kosova presents a threat to regional peace and stability, the UN Security Council should declare Kosova a safe area in the meaning of Chapter VII of the UN Charter.

Second: NATO must prepare contingency plans for intervention in Kosova in the worst possible scenario. Its credibility can only be restored if, as Manfred Wornat has said, "it is ready to punish the aggressor if necessary and also consider using force to achieve political and diplomatic solutions".

Third: Keep sanctions in place and increase international pressure on Serbia.

Recent attempts to force Serbia to recognize the borders of Bosnia, a bargain for lifting of sanctions, is a doomed effort not only because of the request that a non-entity accepts what is now already a UN member. [The] Belgrade regime may be forced to accept this demand, which will most probably be another Serbian farce, but nothing will change on the ground and the peoples of former Yugoslavia will not find themselves closer to an acceptable solution. Although sanctions were introduced because of the Serbian active role in the war, they should never be lifted before a global solution of the former Yugoslavia crisis is achieved. (In this regard, we welcome the tough stance of EU Commissioner for Central and Eastern Europe, Mr. Hans van den Broek, that international sanctions should be linked to a solution of the Kosova issue.)

Fourth: Immediately return a long-term, expanded OSCE monitoring mission to Kosova.

A handful of then-CSCE observers were posted in Kosova until July 1993 when Belgrade expelled the delegations. Although few in number, the monitors served the purpose of at least chronicling the cases of human right abuses across Kosova. Since their departure, incidence of violence, beating, plundering and murder has escalated dramatically.

Fifth: Support mediated dialog with the Serbs in the presence of international mediator.

We have repeatedly offered to meet with the Serbs to discuss our difference without preconditions except one: an international mediator must be present in the talks. We are prepared to meet anywhere at anytime to talk about our differences and sincerely try to resolve them.

Sixth: Reactivate the Kosova Group of the International Conference on Former Yugoslavia.

The Working Group which was established in London in August 1992 and which has been moribund ever since, has achieved absolutely nothing. Now is the time to breathe new life into the process and create a new mechanism to begin the task of fulfilling the legitimate rights of the Albanians to life, liberty and self-determination.

Seventh: UN get involved for the restoration of democratic institutions to Kosova. This would prove to be a powerful deterrent of conflict and, therefore, instill hopes of a return to normality in Kosova.

Events of the last months demonstrate that a new reality is setting in among those concerned with the Balkans. We firmly believe that until the world deals with the major cause of the aggression, the problem will fester, the bloodshed will continue, and there will be no place in the Balkans.

The current Yugoslav crisis is not the result of an abrupt decision of its peoples to part company. It is the realization of the right of peoples to self-determination; it is a free expression of their national identities, hitherto suppressed by Serbian hegemonism. In this context, the independence which we have proclaimed for Kosova, and we are pursuing to institute, is but an adaptation to political realities and moderate approach to our goals.

In conclusion, let me point out the Kosova issue has been wrongly ignored until now. Whether this has been done because of the Serbian Myth, was place in the service of aggression, or because of the 'evil spirits', inaction in Kosova may prove costly. There is still time to save Kosova, and we still believe in peace, therefore we have not resorted to violent means. However, if it comes to conflict, for which Kosova Albanians can never be blamed, they have no other option but to defend themselves.

Bad Judgments of the past must not be repeated. It is time for courageous leadership and commitment to principle, southeast of Sarajevo and throughout the Balkans.

## ELECTIONS IN HAITI

**HON. LEE H. HAMILTON**

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, June 27, 1995*

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I received the following statement from the Presidential delegation to the June 25, 1995, Haitian elections.

The text of the correspondence follows:

DEPARTURE STATEMENT, UNITED STATES  
PRESIDENTIAL DELEGATION TO OBSERVE THE  
HAITI ELECTIONS

JUNE 26, 1995, PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI

Yesterday's elections represent a step in the building of democracy in Haiti. A peaceful balloting process occurred in a country where violence has so often marked past elections. This feat is truly impressive when one considers that but nine months ago Haiti was under the yoke of a military dictatorship. However, the process was affected by irregularities and administrative flaws that need to be addressed for the second round and the future.

Members of the presidential delegation visited five of Haiti's nine departments and more than 300 polling sites. We observed a complicated balloting procedure, involving elections for more than 2100 legislative, mayoral and local council offices. Dedicated polling officials and pollwatchers representing 25 political parties surmounted various obstacles in allowing the Haitian people, in most localities, to choose their representatives.

Procedural and administrative problems before and on election day, nonetheless, prevented citizens in several municipalities from expressing their voting preferences. The failure to include the names of certain approved candidates on the ballots contributed to the cancellation of elections in seven communities and created disquiet in other areas. We also have received critical reports regarding the failure to follow proper procedures during the initial counting phase, with most serious consequences in the Department of the West, which covers the Port Au Prince area.

Despite repeated misunderstandings over the actions of election officials at all levels, the delegation saw little evidence of any effort to favor a single political party or of an organized attempt to intentionally subvert the electoral machinery. At many points, the Provisional Electoral Council's actions and public statements raised questions about the credibility of the process. The most significant of the problems was the failure to explain the reasons candidates were rejected. Political parties raised these and other concerns relating to the transparency of the elections in their contacts with the delegation.

President Aristide and his government performed a positive role in repeating often the theme of reconciliation. In meeting with some rejected candidates and in a public statement on the eve of the elections, the President demonstrated his concern over the controversies surrounding the process and underscored his desire to be President of every Haitian citizen.

We wish to emphasize that this electoral process is far from over and thus a definitive evaluation is premature. The counting of ballots and the adjudication of electoral complaints are pending. There may even be a need to rerun elections in certain jurisdictions. We will remain in close contact with other observer delegations, most notably the Organization of American States, which has organized coverage of these elections throughout the country.

A determined effort is required to remedy the most significant problems affecting the electoral process before the next round of elections. Sincere consultations with a broad range of political parties and transparent decisionmaking by the electoral authorities should have occurred and are indispensable to strengthening Haiti's democratic institutions. The government also should consider carefully the recommendations of the United Nations, various observer delegations and technical election experts who have worked closely with their Haitian counterparts in

assisting the electoral process. In this context, we note the very positive role that the United Nations Mission played in Haiti during the entire transition period.

Despite the problems associated with the pre-election period and observed on election day, the Haitian people voted freely and seemingly without fear. Haiti is now one step closer to establishing a functioning parliament and viable local government.

It is our firm belief that further steps to correct the identified problems will encourage a perception of fairness about this process, despite the inevitable difficulties of conducting an election in Haiti. The Haitian people have demonstrated that they have earned the respect associated with participating in the individual act of casting a ballot. For our part, we will continue to work with the government and people of Haiti in supporting the strengthening of democratic institutions in this country.

PRODIGIOUS TRAVEL BY ENERGY  
SECRETARY O'LEARY

HON. MARTIN R. HOKE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 27, 1995

Mr. HOKE. Mr. Speaker, as you may remember, 1 month ago I asked the General Accounting Office and the chairmen of the House Commerce, House National Security, and House Government Reform and Oversight Committees to initiate investigations into the Secretary of Energy's prodigious travel.

I am happy to report that the General Accounting Office has initiated an investigation into Secretary O'Leary's travel. This is especially important in light of the Monday, June 26, front page story in the Los Angeles Times reporting that Secretary O'Leary's travel expenditures far exceed those of all other Cabinet officers.

When I made my May 25 statement about the Secretary's travel habits, I was under the impression that she had transferred \$100,000 from various program accounts to finance her travel. Imagine my surprise when it actually turned out that Secretary O'Leary had transferred in excess of \$400,000 from other accounts, including accounts used by scientists and technicians in the Department's nuclear safeguards and security program, to pay for her globe-trotting.

According to the L.A. Times, Secretary O'Leary believes in traveling first class all the way, spending approximately \$815 per trip for a total of nearly \$50,000 on her domestic travels. But that does not include the costs associated with her entourage that has included as many as 10 staff members. I ask unanimous consent that the Los Angeles Times article be inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD after my statement.

I now understand that Secretary O'Leary has demanded that DOE program offices cough up additional funds for her planned boondoggle to South Africa. I suppose that a safari to South Africa would be grand this time of the year, but I cannot believe that this trip is more important than safeguarding our nuclear deterrent. As I have said before, the Department of Energy seems to have become nothing more than a travel service to satisfy the Secretary's wanderlust.

For that reason and in order to gain a handle on DOE travel expenditures, I plan to offer

an amendment to the Energy and Water Appropriations bill that would require Secretary O'Leary to report to Congress every time the Secretary authorized the payment of travel expenditures in excess of the amount appropriated for fiscal year 1996.

[From the Los Angeles Times/Washington edition, June 26, 1995]

O'LEARY: ENERGY SECRETARY LOGS CABINET'S  
HIGHEST TRAVEL COSTS

(By Alan C. Miller and Dwight Morris)

WASHINGTON.—Energy Secretary Hazel O'Leary defends her department against budget-cutting proposals to dismantle it by portraying herself as a master economizer in government—reducing her work force, boosting efficiency and saving taxpayers' money.

But when she hits the road in her job, as she often does, O'Leary apparently is no bargain hunter.

Traveling in a style that is unusual, if not unique, among her Cabinet colleagues, O'Leary is the jet-setter of the Clinton Administration.

On longer trips, the former corporate executive frequently upgrades her airline flights to business class or first class—and sometimes authorizes staff members accompanying her to do so as well. And she routinely stays at expensive hotels, such as the Ritz-Carlton and the Four Seasons, in contrast with more cost-conscious fellow Cabinet members.

The travel habits are apparent on the bills for all trips, other than flights on military or Energy Department aircraft, that she submits to the government. For her first two years on the job, the median cost of O'Leary's 61 domestic official trips was 58% higher than it was for EPA Administrator Carol Browner's trips, 73% higher than for travel by Housing Secretary Henry G. Cisneros and 90% higher than Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala's trips, according to travel documents obtained under the Freedom of Information Act.

In a written response to questions, O'Leary said her travel costs and practices are entirely appropriate and that, in fact, she had spent nearly \$14,500 of her own money on official travel. On most domestic flights, she upgrades to business class at no cost to the government, even though she is on duty 24 hours a day and does considerable work en route, a spokeswoman said.

"Secretary O'Leary is an activist secretary who believes that most of the work of the government is beyond the Beltway," said Barbara Semedo, the Energy Department's press secretary. "She is responsible for supervising a nationwide network of sites, many of which are former nuclear weapons facilities located in remote areas of the western United States, where transportation is sometimes time-consuming and expensive."

Two practices in particular put O'Leary at the top of the travel-expense list. The government has ceilings on the amount it will repay officials for meals and accommodations but citing special circumstances, O'Leary routinely seeks hotel reimbursement at as much as 150% of the maximum level. Other Cabinet members usually find lodging for considerably less.

And most other agency heads rarely, if ever, upgrade from coach class on commercial flights.

The figures cited for O'Leary do not reflect one additional area in which the Energy Department outspends other agencies: travel by staff members. The energy secretary usually takes a larger retinue of aides with her on trips than do her Cabinet colleagues.